



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

A STATISTICAL SURVEY OF ITALIAN EMIGRATION.¹

SUMMARY.

I. The General Movement. The official figures of 1869-75, 67.—Magnitude of the movement in 1876-1906 as reflected in the figures of the Bureau of Statistics, 69; doubts as to these figures, 73; they understate the truth, 77.—Unreliability of statistics for emigration into particular countries of Europe, 78.—II. The Overland Movement, 79.—Unreliability of the official classification into "permanent" and "temporary" emigration, 80; total permanent emigration by another method, 83; extent of temporary emigration into Europe, 84.—III. The Oversea Movement. Transatlantic emigration in American figures, 88.—These figures higher than those of the Italian Bureau of Statistics, 91.—Inference that they are also more reliable strengthened by examination of other figures, 92.—Magnitude of the return movement from America, 95; as affected by American economic conditions, 98; growth of the return movement, 99.—Recapitulation and conclusion, 101.

Two main objects have been my goal in the present study. I have sought, first, to discover how great has been the movement of emigration from Italy and how great the movement of returning emigrants. Secondly, I have sought to discover how great has been the emi-

¹ The chief sources used in preparing this paper have been:—

(1) Direzione Generale di Statistica: *Statistica della Emigrazione Italiana per l' Estero*. Rome, 1877, to date. Usually issued annually, but at times for two-year periods. This, the most important source, is based upon information contained in applications for the passport, and gives for each year the number of emigrants, their sex, age, commune of origin, country of destination, the temporary and permanent emigration, and the number of those who return by sea.

(2) Commissariato dell' Emigrazione. *Bollettino dell' Emigrazione*. Rome, 1902, to date. More than a hundred numbers have appeared. They contain statistics—for transoceanic emigrants only—of number, age, sex, port of sailing, country of destination; much information regarding the steamship service and much regarding the conditions of life in the countries of immigration—the latter intended to reach the emigrant himself. Valuable special articles have also appeared.

(3) Commissariato dell' Emigrazione. *Emigrazione e Colonie: Raccolta di Rapporti dei rr. Agenti Diplomatici e Consolari*. Volume I, Europa. Rome, 1903-05, Volume II, Asia, Africa, Oceania. Rome, 1906. Volume III, America, is in preparation. This inquiry was undertaken in connection with the census of 1901. Representatives of the government were asked to reply to twenty-eight questions regarding the number of Italians resident in their districts, the kind and condition of employment, the attitude of governments, employers, friendly societies, and other matters important for the regulation of emigration.

gration of Italians to the several countries most generally chosen as destinations and how great has been the return of emigrants from these countries. These questions have been answered frequently before. A casual reading, however, of writings published in Italy and the United States discloses wide discrepancies in the answers. Where official sources are directly quoted, the differences are not less pronounced than where, in the more popular writings, no special regard is had for sources. Clearly, a study of the validity of the official statistics themselves should precede any unqualified acceptance of figures. It will be apparent in our discussion that in part such a study rather succeeds in throwing doubt upon some official figures than in establishing others really trustworthy. Yet some conclusions of interest, perhaps not heretofore conveniently stated, will, I hope, emerge.

I. THE GENERAL MOVEMENT.

It may be best first to sweep the horizon and attempt to find what has been the total emigration from Italy. Our definition of "emigrant" must be wide enough to include any person who leaves his country either permanently, to settle in another country, or temporarily, for a period of months at least, to reside in a foreign country; and let us exclude any person travelling for pleasure, health, or business. This is the definition employed by the Italian statistical officials.

At the outset of our inquiry we meet a difficulty. There are no official figures for emigration from Italy before 1869. That this earlier emigration was not considerable seems certain. I. Sachs¹ accounts for this:—

Avant 1859 l'émigration italienne était peu importante. Les anciens gouvernements mettaient des obstacles presque insur-

¹ I. Sachs, *L'Italie, ses Finances et son Développement Économique depuis l'Unification du Royaume* (Paris, 1885), p. 933.

montables à l'émigration. L'Autriche, par exemple, rendait l'expatriation très difficile; elle ne la reconnut pas comme un droit, et ne l'autorisa que dans quelques cas, à titre de concession, et par suite de circonstances spéciales seulement. Dans l'Italie méridionale on voyait l'émigration d'un plus mauvais œil encore. Là, il y avait des lois très sévères qui empêchaient toute émigration. Ce n'est qu'à partir de 1859 que celle-ci commença à prendre de l'importance.

But Sachs gives no figures for the years 1859-68. Jules Duval gives occasional figures for the transoceanic emigration of the earlier period, based on material in the Emigration Bureau of the (French) Ministry of the Interior.¹ In the years 1835-42, he says, 7,894 Sardinians arrived at Montevideo; in 1856, 2,738 Sardinians sailed for Buenos Ayres; by September, 1856, more than 3,000 emigrants had procured passports since the beginning of the year; in June, 1860, there were 12,755 Italians in Algeria; at Buenos Ayres and Montevideo there was "un noyau de quelque importance"; in the later '50's a Brazilian colonization society was successfully inducing Italian emigrants to go to Brazil; and so forth. Official figures for the early immigration into the United States and Argentina, we may here say by anticipation, were small. At this point it is only important to note that Italian emigration, tho slight, was at least a fact many years before the government began systematically to collect statistics. Probably it had in some sense been connected with the old commercial voyages of the North Italians. Duval found it *à propos* to quote the saying, "Dans quelque endroit du monde que l'on ouvre un œuf il en sort un génois."

The year 1869 marks the beginning of official statistics of emigration. Data were collected by a somewhat different method from that pursued in 1876 and thereafter,

¹ Histoire de l'Émigration au XIX^e Siècle (Paris, 1862), pp. 155 ff. and 248 ff.

at first by the Ministry of the Interior and later by the Hon. Leone Carpi with the assistance of the Ministries of the Interior and of Foreign Affairs.¹ The figures are as follows:²—

	<i>Total.</i>	<i>Temporary.</i>	<i>Permanent.</i>	<i>Clandestine.</i>
1869	119,806	83,565	22,201	14,040
1870	111,459	83,588	16,427	11,444
1871	122,479	96,384	15,027	11,068
1872	146,265	?	?	5,585
1873	151,781	?	?	11,921
1874	108,601	?	?	17,362
1875	103,348	?	?	27,253

Unless, as is unlikely, these early figures were collected by a method superior to that pursued later, they must probably be considered as under-statements of the truth. Sachs declares that a parliamentary commission, which had considered the emigration question in 1879, had been unwilling to admit that there had been a decrease in emigration after 1873. He says:—

On ne peut, en effet, accorder qu'une valeur relative aux chiffres de l'émigration clandestine qui augmenta sensiblement de 1874 à 1876, lorsque les mesures restrictives pour la délivrance des passeports pour l'Amérique était en vigueur.³

In 1876 the Bureau of Statistics,⁴ acting under the Ministry of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce, began a collection of statistics which has been continued to the present day. The series is important from several points of view. It is the only series which extends over a long period of years. It is the only series which includes emigration into other countries of Europe and into North Africa, considering as well the countries of destination singly. It is the only series which gives the emigration

¹ *Statistica della Emigrazione 1887*, p. v. The results of the collection were published, under Carpi's name, in a work called *Delle Colonie e dell' Emigrazione di Italiani all' Estero* (Milan, 1874), which I have been unable to see.

² *Ibid.*, p. vi.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 934.

⁴ I shall thus translate *Direzione Generale della Statistica*.

by compartments,¹ provinces, and communes. In addition, it gives valuable groupings by age and sex, and until 1903 classified all emigrants either as "Permanent" or "Temporary." The series possesses further the extrinsic importance of having been more widely quoted than any other. Partly this has been, for reasons given, inevitable; but for the emigration to transoceanic countries ignorance of better figures or—one suspects in recent years—the desire to quote high figures has played a chief part.

The unique importance of these figures requires that they be carefully studied. Before undertaking to do this, it seems best, however, to reproduce in tabular form the significant figures of the collection.² For the period before 1906 I have prepared quinquennial averages:—

<i>Annual Averages.</i>	<i>Total Emigration.</i>	<i>Europe and the Mediterranean Basin.</i>	<i>Transoceanic.</i>
1876-80	108,797	82,201	26,596
1881-85	154,141	95,146	58,995
1886-90	221,977	90,694	131,283
1891-95	256,511	109,067	147,444
1896-1900	310,435	148,533	161,901
1901-05	554,050	244,808	309,242
<i>Single Years.</i>			
1896	307,482	113,235	194,247
1897	299,855	127,777	172,078
1898	283,715	147,803	135,912
1899	308,339	167,572	140,767
1900	352,783	186,279	166,503
1901	533,245	253,571	279,674
1902	531,509	246,855	284,654
1903	507,976	225,541	282,435
1904	471,191	218,825	252,366
1905	726,331	279,248	447,083
1906	787,977	276,042	511,935

The total number of recorded emigrants for the thirty-one years 1876-1906 is almost nine millions. A great

¹ The sixteen *compartimenti* embrace the sixty-nine *province*. The *compartimento* is not an administrative division, but is retained in official classifications because it conveniently marks off important regional differences.

² Data may be found in nearly all numbers of the *Statistica della Emigrazione*.

growth has taken place in both the oversea emigration and the European. The quinquennium 1886-90 marks a turning-point in the history of Italian emigration. While the total emigration increased much, that into Europe changed slightly, and for the first time in its career was surpassed by the American current. In other words, the stream that had begun to flow so copiously into Europe was now largely diverted into America, more than doubling the volume of the older current. In the twenty years that have elapsed since, the emigration into America has apparently remained in excess of that into Europe. In 1901 there was a sharp bound in the movement. The new level was virtually maintained until 1905, when another sharp bound occurred, chiefly in the oversea emigration, and again the new level was maintained through 1906.

The next table gives the figures for emigration into the principal countries.¹ I have omitted those for American countries because special discussion of them is best preceded by a somewhat extended study of other figures:—

<i>Annual Averages.</i>	<i>Austro-Hungary.</i>	<i>France.</i>	<i>Switzerland.</i>	<i>Germany.</i>
1876-80	19,196	36,256	12,884	7,315
1881-85	25,625	44,500	7,032	6,927
1886-90	34,118	30,114	7,203	10,351
1891-95	36,345	26,897	12,166	15,249
1896-1900	46,287	24,960	25,647	30,941
1901-05	54,454	54,299	53,828	56,021
<i>Single Years.</i>				
1896	29,240 ²	17,967	18,311	17,245
1897	30,440	19,566	25,266	21,080
1898	33,399	22,927	27,613	26,852
1899	31,872	25,047	29,282	40,283
1900	45,338	39,292	27,761	49,243
1901	69,328	59,162	45,785	46,934
1902	44,138	59,777	50,237	52,885
1903	45,819	48,993	45,780	53,553
1904	35,853	45,559	52,263	55,049
1905	44,412	58,002	75,080	71,624
1906	32,650	62,497	80,019	67,620

¹ Data may be found in the various numbers of the *Statistica*.

² The remaining figures in this column are for Austria only.

The emigration into each of the four countries included in this table is much greater than that into any other country of Europe. An average of about 54,000 emigrants a year in 1901-05 entered each of these countries. Austro-Hungary and France have grown irregularly. From 1876 to 1885 the emigration into European countries was greatest into France; from 1886 to 1900, greatest into Austro-Hungary. Before 1900 the emigration into Hungary was about half that into Austria, since it has averaged one-tenth to one-fourth. Emigration into France reached its lowest point in 1896. This period of strained relations between the two countries is thus strangely reflected in the barometer of emigration. In 1901 the emigration into France suddenly sprang to a new level, and has been high since. Since the middle '80's the average annual emigration into Switzerland has, roughly speaking, doubled with each quinquennium. Since 1890 emigration into Germany has progressed similarly. Throughout the previous decade Germany was herself still sending forth heavy annual quotas of emigrants, and indeed in the earlier '90's also, so that she could hardly be expected to receive many immigrants, even from such a country as Italy.¹

These four countries have all in the last few decades undertaken great works of construction, and have in general developed mines and manufactures. They have thus opened a market for his labor to the Italian *bracciante* and factory hand. Men, women, too often children, have eagerly offered their services upon hard terms for the living that their native country stunted them. But we must note, too, that these four countries lie very close to Italy. It is simpler for the North Italian to enter Ticino than to migrate to Central Italy. Ventimiglia is at once

¹ There is to-day a heavy emigration from Austro-Hungary, but the Italian immigration into that country gravitates to regions from which there is little emigration.

Vintimille. Belluno and Udine, great reservoirs of temporary emigrants, lie merely across the border from Austro-Hungary.¹ The emigration into these four countries is more of a kind with the extraordinary internal migration of Italy than with the transoceanic movement.

The more distant countries of Europe receive few immigrants. Russia, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, receive a negligible number. Great Britain, after crossing the 1,000 line, crossed 4,000 in 1906. The Balkan States, in 1890-1900, received an average of about 14,000 a year, but since 1900 only 2,000 to 4,000 a year. Egypt fluctuated about one and two thousand before 1904, then and in 1905 reached 4,500. Algeria and Tunis have long received many South Italians,—in 1900, 3,831, and since 7,500 to 9,500 per year.

What now of the value of these figures? The early official reports made few qualifications.

On the whole [says one of them], we have reason to believe that our statistics . . . represent with sufficient approximation the departure of our compatriots in search of temporary occupation or of permanent employment.²

In 1902 a slightly more guarded statement appears.—

Although the authorities endeavor to keep as accurate an account as possible of those who emigrate, whether for some months only, or for an indefinite period, the official statistics do not, however, succeed in measuring the movement with absolute precision.³

Upon the method of collecting these figures of the Bureau of Statistics we have explicit information.⁴ Whoever

¹ Of late years, however, the emigration from these provinces has been more strongly into Germany (especially Bavaria) than into Austro-Hungary.

² *Statistica della Emigrazione nell' Anno 1887*, p. iv.

³ *Statistica della Emigrazione negli Anni 1900 e 1901*, p. 5.

⁴ See, *e g*, *Bollettino dell' Emigrazione*, 1902, No 1, p 51.

would emigrate is expected to apply in person or in writing to the *sindaco* (mayor) of his commune, who, after granting the *nulla-osta* (which indicates that there are no legal obstacles to the emigration of the applicant), procures the passport from the prefect or sub-prefect of the province, and delivers it to the applicant. Until 1901 the passport for a laborer cost 2.40 lire.¹ Since 1901 it is free, and is valid for three years.² The *sindaco* recorded the number of those who had been granted the *nulla-osta* and the number of those who, by whatever avenues of information, had been reported as having gone without a passport; and the combined numbers he called the emigration from his commune. In 1904 the work of compilation was taken over by the officers of public safety, who every three months, in every *circondario* and province, performed their task upon the basis of passports actually granted.

If all emigrants procured passports, or if all those who did not became known as such to the *sindaco*, there would be little reason to question the final totals for emigration. Since 1901 the passport is obligatory for all emigrants sailing from Italy or by authorized carriers from Havre. As we shall see, this transoceanic movement of late years has been rather overstated than understated in the figures of the Bureau of Statistics. But the obligatory provision did not apply before 1901, nor has it ever applied to emigration into countries of Europe. Clearly, another test must guide us. Does the usefulness of the passport make it a desirable document to possess? Undoubtedly, in some countries of Europe, but not all, the passport materially helps the emigrant to get work. But the emigrant may not realize this. He may expect to return to Italy soon, and may not think it worth the inconven-

¹ Bollettino, 1902, No. 1, p. 18. There were often preliminary costs also.

² Bollettino, 1902, No. 1, p. 51.

ience, delay, and expense necessary to obtain it (the cost of a passport before 1901 was equal to one to three days' wages). And members of his family who are to accompany him may not be fully recorded.

Other considerations are important. There is a heavy internal seasonal migration in Italy, sometimes reaching, it is officially estimated, a million persons annually. It must often happen that a propertyless peasant, migrating from one province to another, and recorded, if at all, merely as an internal migrant, is induced to join others in emigration to France or Germany, and may never become known to his *sindaco* as an emigrant. The emigrant may further leave to escape military service¹ or to flee penal justice. He may be induced by agents of steamship companies not recognized by the Italian government as emigrant carriers to leave from a French or German port, a lower rate being charged for an unprotected, unregulated service.² Since 1902 the passport is refused to persons likely to be debarred from foreign ports, but whom unauthorized carriers often succeed in enrolling by promises of admission.³

It is certain, on the other hand, that some persons who receive the passport never emigrate. Their number is probably inconsiderable (an exception will be noted later). Since 1901 the passport is valid for three years, consequently a man may, since that date, emigrate thrice in three years, and yet be recorded only once. Some persons receive the *nulla-osta*, thus being recorded as immigrants (before 1904), to whom the provincial authorities, however, refuse the passport.⁴

¹ Bodio declared this to be the chief source of the secret emigration. See *Di Alcuni Indici Misuratori del Movimento Economico in Italia* (Rome, 1891), p. 6.

² There is much in the *Bollettini* about the prosecution of fraudulent agents.

³ *Bollettino*, 1902, No. 12, p. 72

⁴ *Bollettino*, 1907, No. 14, p. 5. They may, however, leave without the passport.

But one of the greatest sources of error is the general unreliability of the operations of the *sindaci* who, until recently, compiled the statistics. The Italian commune has never been won over to work in sympathy with national measures. A governmental investigation, held in 1903, showed that "in many communes the registers of the *nulla-osta* were not regularly kept."¹ This same investigation, it is elsewhere stated, discovered that

more and more rarely were the communal authorities found to have inquired whether persons had emigrated from the locality without providing themselves with the prescribed documents; so that the number of persons recorded as only known through public report to have emigrated, had in late years fallen almost to zero, account having been kept of them in only four or five provinces.²

G. Prato, who has written much upon Italian emigration, declared somewhat earlier,—

For some districts the existence of a large fraudulent emigration, not unknown and at times notoriously furthered by the local authorities, almost inevitably casts suspicion upon the official figures.³

The emigrants who had departed from their country without passports, but had been reported to the *sindaci* of their communes, are given in the following table:⁴—

		<i>Average per Year</i>
Period, 1887-91	186,439	37,287
“ 1892-96	169,250	33,850
“ 1897-1901	208,729	41,745
Year 1902	17,290	
“ 1903	28,278	

¹ Bollettino, 1907, No 14, p. 5

² Statistica della Emigrazione negli Anni 1902 e 1903, p. vi.

³ Riforma Sociale, June 15, 1901, L' Emigrazione Temporanea Italiana, etc p. 552

⁴ Compiled from the Statistica for 1902 and 1903, p. ix.

It is really upon the validity of these figures that the value of the compilations of the Bureau of Statistics rests. If they depart far from the facts, the totals given for emigrants from Italy cannot have much meaning. An official statement of their value has been given.

This negligence [in not recording persons emigrated without the passport] was in some measure justified by the fact that nowadays nearly all those who go abroad in search of labor procure a passport as a certificate that is useful and practically necessary to establish their identity before the police authorities, and to be able to call upon the Italian consuls abroad for assistance.¹

This account, having reference to the findings of the investigation of 1903, declared that the custom of recording emigrants departed without the passport had only lately fallen into disuse; that is, the earlier records are supposed approximately correct.

Some evidence can be had, however, to show that neither the early nor the late records for emigration without the passport come close to the truth. In a report of the Society for the Protection of Temporary Emigrants into Europe we read:—

When one notes that in 1889 [when 94,823 emigrants were recorded as having gone into European countries] 120,000 emigrant laborers passed through the stations of Basel and Schaffhausen alone, and that the results of investigations repeated for a series of years in ten other centers of the Swiss Confederation show that thirty out of one hundred emigrants possessed no passport—the only means of official record—and that a great number of them had crossed the frontier on foot, one can calculate that our continental emigration in 1899 must have consisted of an army of over 400,000 workmen, while the governmental statistical bureau announced only 177,031.²

¹ Bollettino, 1907, No 14, p. 5

² Consorzio per la Tutela dell' Emigrazione Temporanea nell' Europa Continentale, Relazione (Milan, 1904), p 6

This statement is not conclusive, but it is plausible. More convincing are the facts urged by Dr. Cosattini in his valuable monograph on the emigration from the Friuli, the first to appear of a series of studies upon the emigration from special sections of Italy made by government experts.¹ Cosattini supplemented the government figures—which are “far below the truth”²—by personal investigations made in the various communes. But his most striking facts are based on the sales of railway tickets, during March, April, and May, for frontier destinations or beyond. A reduced third-class fare for these destinations is granted to groups of five or more men who present a request from the *sindaco*. To the number of these Cosattini has added those third-class passengers who, not departing in groups of at least five persons, have paid the full fare. Of this number, some certainly are not emigrants, but the procedure is justified because the departures in these three months are four times as numerous as during the other months;³ and only the temporary emigration movement could explain this. He then makes the following comparison:⁴—

Railway Figures.		Bureau of Statistics (temporary emigration).	
1898, 3 months	65,023	1898, 12 months	50,598
1899, “	64,464	1899, “	55,536
1900, “	63,350	1900, “	43,306
1901, “	63,660	1901, “	49,448
1902, 2 months	48,534	1902, “	45,125

Allowing for the reduced emigration during nine months of the year, it would still hold that almost twice as many persons emigrate from this greatest recruiting ground in Italy as are recorded in the official figures.⁵ It would be

¹ G. Cosattini, *L' Emigrazione Temporanea del Friuli*, No. 3 of the *Bollettino* for 1904.

² *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 20. 79 per cent. leave in March, April, and May; 75 per cent. leave in March and April alone.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

hazardous to apply this proportion to the emigration from the rest of Italy, but a substantial correction must certainly be made.

II. THE OVERLAND MOVEMENT: TEMPORARY EMIGRATION.

It seems indeed impossible to reconstruct the official figures for emigration. The considerations thus far urged have had reference largely to emigration into Europe. We shall see later that a correction must also be made in the figures for oversea emigration, again as an augmentation. At present one or two special aspects of emigration into European countries claim consideration. The passport is valid for any of them, although granted for a particular one. The emigrant recorded as having gone to Switzerland may stay in that country only a few weeks, then pass on into Austria or Germany or France, and to and fro indefinitely. And the emigrant not possessed of a passport may of course do the same. In the voluminous special consular reports of 1901, prepared in answer to questions upon emigration, contained in a circular letter addressed to Italian diplomatic and consular agents in all countries, consuls in Switzerland, Germany, and France declared these migrations from country to country to be frequent.¹ And this is what we should expect. The Italian emigrant is primarily a laborer. The possibility of earning a very little more than the grudging modicum proffered him by his own country lowers for him those bars of language, nationality, and social life which so effectually maintain the distinctness of communities economically advanced enough to maintain a developed "leisure class." During the building of the Simplon tunnel, Pasquale Villari asked some Italians there employed whether they

¹ *Emigrazione e Colonie*. For France see vol. 1., Part I, p. 115; for Switzerland, vol. 1., Part II., p. 86, for Germany, vol. 1., Part III., p. 107. There are other passages also.

loved their country. He says, "They answered me, smiling, as if I had spoken of some stranger, 'Italy is for us whoever gives us our bread.'" ¹

We must guard ourselves, however, not to lay too much stress on this migration from country to country, as determining the invalidity of official figures. It is likely that contrary currents largely compensate each other.

One more question pertaining to emigration into Europe remains to be considered. How many of the emigrants will return to their country? Italy early recognized the moment of this question. In 1869-71 ² all emigrants were classified as "permanent" or "temporary,"—upon what basis I have not learned. The Bureau of Statistics in 1876, the first year of its operation in the field of emigration, listed every emigrant either under "Permanent Emigration" (or "Emigration Proper," or "for an indefinite term") or under "Temporary Emigration" (or "periodic"). The terms in parentheses, altho they mean different things, are variously interchanged with the others in subsequent records; but a single purpose is evident in the classification. A table for these figures follows:—

	<i>Temporary.</i>	<i>Permanent.</i>		<i>Temporary.</i>	<i>Permanent.</i>
1876 . . .	89,015	19,756	1890 . . .	112,511	104,733
1877 . . .	78,126	21,087	1891 . . .	118,111	175,520
1878 . . .	77,733	18,535	1892 . . .	116,298	107,369
1879 . . .	79,007	40,824	1893 . . .	122,439	124,312
1880 . . .	81,967	37,934	1894 . . .	119,868	105,455
1881 . . .	94,225	41,607	1895 . . .	123,668	169,513
1882 . . .	95,814	65,748	1896 . . .	123,862	183,620
1883 . . .	100,685	68,416	1897 . . .	134,426	165,429
1884 . . .	88,968	58,049	1898 . . .	156,928	126,787
1885 . . .	80,164	77,029	1899 . . .	177,031	131,308
1886 . . .	86,474	85,355	1900 . . .	199,573	153,209
1887 . . .	87,917	127,748	1901 . . .	281,668	251,577
1888 . . .	94,743	195,993	1902 . . .	286,292	245,217
1889 . . .	105,319	113,093	1903 . . .	277,135	230,841

¹ Nuova Antologia, January 1, 1907, L' Emigrazione e le sue Conseguenze in Italia, p. 53.

² See first table above.

By Carpi's figures for 1869-72 the temporary emigration was four to six times as great as the permanent. This excess is maintained in 1876, when the figures of the Bureau of Statistics begin; but it declines fast during the next decade, and in 1886 the temporary falls below the permanent. It remains generally below it until 1898; then and thenceforth surpasses it slightly. Throughout the period the number of temporary emigrants corresponds rather closely with the number emigrating to countries of Europe, and of course the number of permanent emigrants corresponds as closely with the number of transoceanic emigrants. Do the statistics correspond as closely with the truth?

Few figures published by the Bureau of Statistics have had so wide a currency as these. They have passed into the general statistical literature on emigration apparently without a challenge.¹ And yet the challenge is necessary. Is it certain that the question of the *sindaco*, whether the emigrant is leaving for a few months only or whether permanently, is correctly answered?

The Italian peasant laborer, so unskilled that he can be put only to pick and shovel work in another country, whose entire property can often be carried in a bundle, who feels the scantiness of his earnings at home and hears of greater possible earnings elsewhere, often joins a band of emigrants without much planning about the future. He is young and ready for experiment, and he feels that other lands cannot treat him more harshly than his own. He clings to Italy, yes, but—Italy is whatever land will give him his bread. This man must often not know what

¹ So, *e.g.*, Mayo-Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, p. 19. Mayo-Smith even identifies the "temporary" emigration with that to "neighboring countries" and the "permanent" with that to "countries outside of Europe." Cf., also, Gonnard, *L'Emigration Européenne au XIX^e Siècle* (Paris, 1906), p. 187; he accepts the figures implicitly.

answer to give to the *sindaco*.¹ The *sindaco*, unless he be an exceptional officer, will not take much trouble even about ascertaining the real state of the man's mind. And if the answer is given, and is clear, still the emigrant, when he reaches another land, may change his decision. Where most of the man's life is still before him, he often cannot, even if he would, answer the momentous question of the *sindaco*.

But the most eloquent argument against these statistics proceeds from the action of the statistical officials themselves. After thirty years of record and tabulation, in 1903, they brought the series to an end,—an admitted failure. "These figures" the Parliamentary Commission of Vigilance upon the Emigration Funds reported to the Chamber, . . . "cannot give an exact account of the phenomenon."² The governmental investigation already alluded to had found the task of learning the future plans of emigrants "so difficult that in most cases it was neglected, and the classification was made by the officers by conjecture."³ Inspection of the registries of passports showed that the distinction had been made "upon uncertain and arbitrary grounds. In some *circondari* the entire trans-oceanic emigration was considered permanent in the absence of information as to opposite intentions. In others, analogous groups were assigned to the periodic emigration, because it had been found that in preceding years many persons who had gone to America had returned after a brief stay."⁴

The figures, however, are not wholly worthless. The permanent emigration can, for a long period of years, be

¹ The Italian consuls in France agreed that the Italian emigrants do not usually know, when they leave Italy, whether their absence will be permanent or not. (*Emigrazione e Colonie*, vol. i., Part II., p. 63.) This statement certainly seems unduly strong.

² *Bollettino*, 1904, No. 11, p. 11, *Relazione della Commissione Parlamentare di Vigilanza sul Fondo per l' Emigrazione*.

³ *Bollettino*, 1907, No. 14, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*

measured by another and more reliable method, and the results of the two methods compared. By deducting from the excess of births over deaths in the intercensal period 1882–1901 (there was no intermediate census), the actual increase in the population of Italy recorded by the census of 1901, the result will represent the actual net loss by emigration in the intervening period. The Italian vital statistics and censuses seem trustworthy enough to justify the computation. The census of 1882 was taken on the 1st of January; that of 1901 on the 10th of February. I have accordingly estimated the excess of births over deaths January 1–February 10, 1901, as one-ninth of the year's total. Similarly for the "Permanent" emigration of the Bureau of Statistics in January 1–February 10, 1901, I have estimated one-ninth of the total emigration for the year. This seems fair, for the "temporary" emigrants of these forty days were also not included in the census; nay, it is probably a conservative over-statement, for the emigration at this period of the year is slight. Our calculation would then read somewhat as follows:—

Excess of births over deaths in the intercensal period January 1, 1882–February 10, 1901	6,206,059
Excess census 1901 over census 1882	4,015,625
Loss by emigration,— <i>i.e.</i> , net or permanent emigration . .	2,190,434
"Permanent" emigration of Bureau of Statistics for the same period	2,390,455
Excess of this over calculated permanent emigration . . .	200,021
Percentage of error of Bureau of Statistics	9.13

In effect, 10,000 persons a year on the average, who have been recorded as permanent emigrants, seem to have actually returned to Italy. Or, otherwise put, one person in eleven has been wrongly classified as permanent. Considering the difficulties inevitable in preparing the figures of the Bureau of Statistics, it seems surprising that the error is not greater. But the effective error by no means

measures the actual error. Since, so far as applicants for passports are concerned, the temporary and permanent emigrants have apparently long been nearly equal in number, there must have been a great compensating mis-record of permanent and temporary emigrants. It would be particularly hazardous to assume that the percentage of error which we have calculated can be applied to the statistics of any single year.

The computed figure 2,190,434 can be taken as representing with much accuracy the net or permanent emigration from Italy in the period considered. It gives no valuable clew to the extent of the temporary emigration. The total recorded emigration for the same period is 4,638,658. The difference between the two numbers, 2,448,224, cannot be taken to represent the temporary emigration of the period, because, as we have shown, the totals of the Bureau of Statistics for emigration are indefinitely understatements of the phenomenon.

Even if the classification of the Bureau of Statistics were trustworthy, it would help us little in treating the return movement for particular countries of Europe, since the classification has not been published for countries. For the method which I propose to follow to determine this migration, accuracy cannot be claimed, but the results would seem to be sufficiently approximate to be of some interest.

The seventh Bollettino of 1904 ¹ gave figures for a census of Italians living in countries of Europe and elsewhere in 1881, 1891, and 1901. Mainly (we are considering only Europe now) the figures used were those of the official censuses of the respective countries. Where such were not to be had, consular estimates were accepted. The latter were necessary in only a few unimportant countries.

¹ Pages 210 ff.

Fortunately, the censuses in nearly every case were taken in December, the very month in which fewest temporary emigrants were living in other countries. Accordingly, the census figures should include almost only the Italians who could be called "permanent" emigrants. Securing these figures is the first step of our method. The second step consists simply in subtracting each census figure from its successor in the next decade. This gives the increase in the Italian population during the decade. The increase may be considered to represent that part of the immigration from Italy which belongs to the permanent emigration. The third step consists in deducting this figure from the immigration into the country from Italy during the decade, the difference being then the return migration into Italy. The last figure it is convenient to state as a percentage. In the following table the years represent census dates as well as the outer, comprehending years of the emigration period under consideration. The absolute figures are those of temporary or returned emigrants, and the percentages are those of returned emigrants in total emigrants for the period.

	Period.	Total returned	Per cent. returned.	Period	Total returned.	Per cent. returned.
Total Europe	1881-91	858,978	91 3	1891-1901	1,243,305	85.9
France	1881-91	294,992	84 2	1891-1896	116,944	96 4
Germany . . .	1880-90	75,972	90.1	1890-1900	176,580	76.4
Switzerland . .	1880-88	50,734	99 3	1888-1900	143,754	65 6
Austria }	1880-90	354,520	94 9	1890-1900	270,078	58.3
Hungary }				1890-1900	123,093	97 4

Qualifications of this table at once suggest themselves. The chief of them is that the figures for returned emigrants are indeed not such, but represent rather emigrants disappeared from the country of destination in intercensal years. Some have died, not many probably, for not only are the emigrants in the best years of life, but also they

were a "selected" lot at the very moment of emigration. However, a part must replace older residents who have died. Some have migrated elsewhere, but the currents, we can assume, are in the long run largely compensatory; and, even where not so, the difference would immaterially affect the number of permanent residents, which is at all events small. Finally, many emigrants have permanently left the country without settling in a neighboring country. Of these a part have sailed for America without returning to Italy. All the rest have returned to Italy. These are the real temporary emigrants, and undoubtedly they are a great majority of those included in our figures. Unavoidably, in our calculation we have used the emigration figures of the Bureau of Statistics, and these we have discredited. We have, however, ventured to conclude that they indefinitely underestimate the truth, and so here we must assume that the backflow from Europe is indefinitely greater than the figures we have given indicate. That it is not less than these figures declare can be stated with much certainty.

More qualifications are necessary when we consider the several items of our table; but, again, they do not seem seriously damaging. The emigrants of one year do not necessarily return in the same year, but they probably do so. Hence this is, for decennial periods certainly, a negligible factor. The figures given for the total return from Europe are the least reliable; for, while the factor of emigration covers the ten years indicated, the census figures only in general cover the same ten years. Even here, however, a correction, were it possible, would only very slightly affect the units of our percentages. There has certainly been a growing tendency for Italians to become permanent residents of European countries, and this seems to be reflected in the general rate for 1891-1901. The French figures for 1891-96 suggest the contrary; but

in these six years, owing to the political difficulties between the two countries, the emigration to France fell off sharply and the return movement increased markedly. For Germany the great fall in the percentage of returning Italians in 1890-1900 is due partly to the growing tendency to settle definitely in the country and partly probably to a somewhat greater possibility in that country of securing work in the winter than in other countries. Switzerland, also, has fallen off, and more than Germany. In 1888-1900 many Italians doubtless found employment in the public works during the winter, but the increase in the winter Italian population is doubtless due largely to the tendency of Italians to become permanent residents of Switzerland. It is stated, for example, that Italians are beginning to take up and cultivate the mountain valleys abandoned as unprofitable by the Swiss.¹ Emigration into Hungary is decidedly of a temporary nature. For 1880-90 the figures are inextricably fused with those of Austria, but the large permanent emigration into Austria ascertained for 1890-1900 suggests that it may have been considerable also before 1890, and that the return movement from Hungary must have approximated 100 per cent.²

One interesting and highly important aspect of temporary emigration we have little means of studying. How many of those who return to Italy will emigrate again? As we shall see, some figures for this phenomenon can be had for the United States, but for European countries there appear to be no data. Beyond question a great part of the emigration from the northern provinces, especially the Venetian, is in this class. The annual emigration to countries of Europe by no means represents increments of so many new persons from year to year. As the net emigration to Europe is far from a "drain,"

¹ *Emigrazione e Colonie*, vol. i., Part II., p. 19.

² The absolute increase of the Italian population in Hungary in 1880-90 was only 1,328.

so the oft-alleged sundering of families is probably not so general as those who read simply the annual figures for emigration would have us believe.

III. THE OVERSEA MOVEMENT.

In studying the extent of transoceanic emigration, we are not limited to one set of figures. This is a distinct advantage, for much can be learned from a comparison of series. Procuring a passport, sailing from a port,—Italian or other,—landing in America, are so many aspects of a single movement. There is, perhaps, fairly a presumption that the third of these makes the safest starting-point for a study of the movement: it is a bird in hand that is being counted when American statistics are collected.

Let us, then, first pass in survey the immigration into countries of America, as this is recorded in American figures. In the following table I have prepared annual averages for six recent quinquennial periods, and have presented the yearly figures for the period 1896–1906:—

<i>Annual Averages.</i>	<i>United States.</i>	<i>Brazil.</i>	<i>Argentina.</i>
1877–81	8,217	—	16,553
1882–86	23,084	12,600	39,088
1887–91	50,499	68,847	57,089
1892–96	56,048	94,019	42,587
1897–1901	87,249	39,971	49,513
1902–06	224,649	17,505	71,714
<i>Single years.</i>			
1896	68,060	94,277	75,204
1897	59,431	74,560	44,678
1898	58,613	28,794	39,135
1899	78,730	22,557	53,295
1900	101,662	17,167	52,143
1901	137,807	56,779	58,314
1902	180,535	29,463 (?)	32,314
1903	233,546	9,886 (?)	42,358
1904	196,028	12,576 (?)	67,598
1905	226,320	17,657 (?)	88,950
1906	286,814	17,955 (?)	127,348
1907	294,061		

The table may be briefly supplemented. Records for the United States begin in 1820, when 30 Italians arrived. There were less than 75 a year till 1833; less than 200 till 1848; 1,263 arrived in 1854; there were less than 2,000 till 1870, when 2,891 arrived; the year 1873 brought 8,757, a number not again reached till 1880, when 12,354 arrived. In 1887-1907, 2,386,882 were admitted. As the figures in the table indicate, the growth has been a recent one. By the census of 1850 the Italians in the United States (3,679) were very slightly in excess of the Swedes (3,559). At each successive census, through that of 1900, the Swedes were decidedly in the majority, tho clearly losing ground, relatively, in the decade before 1900.

With some justice Professor Mayo-Smith has written, "Our most perfect statistics probably are those of immigration."¹ The rigorous efforts of the United States government, certainly since the Italian immigration became considerable, to discover and examine every incoming alien, hardly call for description here.

In the period 1855-80 more Italians arrived in Brazil than immigrants of any other nationality, and in every year since 1880 they have maintained their leadership. In the '80's great numbers came whose passage from Italy was supplied free by the government. But in the late '90's a crisis in coffee-growing occurred. Stories of failure to pay wages, of a paper money not legal tender, of corporal punishment and other grave evils, reached Italy, and the Italian government discouraged further emigration. Thereupon the emigration fell off greatly. In 1898 the Brazilian government ceased to collect statistics of immigration, resigning that function to the States, which have inadequately performed their task.² It can-

¹ *Statistics and Sociology*, p. 333.

² Only Sao Paulo and Minaes Geraes officially publish figures. (*Bollettino*, 1907, No. 14, p. 18.)

not even be said that the earlier statistics for immigration into Brazil are good. A German resident in Brazil wrote in 1885 that of 25,845 immigrants (of all nations) arrived in Brazil in 1882, the government had recorded only the 1,352 who had come upon a free passage. Brazilian statistics, he declared, must be considered merely as minima.¹

Statistics for immigration into Argentina were first collected in 1857. There was a steady growth from 3,000 Italians in that year to over 9,000 in the first decade; in 1873, 26,878 arrived; after considerable fluctuation, this number was slightly surpassed in 1882, when the rise began—especially under the stimulus of gratuitous transportation—which culminated in 1889 with 88,647 immigrants. A severe crisis then broke upon the country, and the years 1890 and 1891 brought only 39,122 and 15,511 Italians, respectively. After some fluctuation, generally on a low level,—for recovery from depression was slow,—the high mark of 1889 was overpassed in 1905 and 1906. In the entire period 1857–1906, 1,615,432 Italian immigrants entered the republic. The Argentine statistics are based on information contained in the passenger lists of vessels that arrive at Buenos Ayres, and may be regarded as fairly accurate.²

The other American countries have not been, comparatively speaking, important destinations of Italians. Uruguay has long received 2,000 to 5,000 a year, but in 1889 and 1890, by way of a striking exception, 15,047 and 12,873. Canada before 1900 received a few hundreds per year; since, 4,000 to 8,000 a year. In the last decade, indeed, Italian emigration has noticeably been pushing

¹ C. von Koseritz, p. 285 of *Bilder aus Brasilien* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1885), based on articles originally contributed to a Porto Alegre newspaper.

² An annual immigration, not classified by nationalities, comes by way of Montevideo, the journey from Europe having been made upon vessels that do not go as far as Buenos Ayres.

its way with growing decision into all parts of America. Probably no emigrant people before has so freely fixed its abode in such diverse lands.

It is desirable to compare the statistics we have been considering with those secured by the Italian Bureau of Statistics on the basis of *nulla-osta*, or passports granted. Before 1901 the passport was not obligatory. We should therefore expect many persons to have emigrated in this period without the passport, especially since in neither North nor South America does the passport possess the usefulness it possesses in some regions of Europe. Since 1901 emigrants may not depart from Italian ports without the passport. In these circumstances it is probable that some persons have taken out the passport, which is free, without actually emigrating. The following table would seem to confirm these probabilities. The quinquennial totals are for immigration according to the American statistics. The figures of the second column represent, according as they are preceded by a (+) or (—) sign, the amount by which the American figures are greater or less than those of the Bureau of Statistics:—

	United States.		Brazil.		Plata. ¹	
	Totals.		Totals		Totals.	
1877-81 . . .	41,085	+17,584	—	—	82,766	+23,880
1882-86 . . .	115,419	+22,839	62,989	+16,564	233,739	+69,685
1887-91 . . .	252,495	+61,655	344,235	+73,460	330,020	+65,611
1892-96 . . .	280,240	+68,318	470,094	+42,039	240,651	+39,036
1897-1901 . .	436,243	+56,210	199,855	—55,857	264,317	+36,528
1902-06 . . .	1,123,243	—138,890	87,537	—58,215	372,999	+38,380

¹ The Bureau of Statistics comprehends in this term Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay. The last country receives a very slight immigration, which has not been included in the American figures.

In regard to the United States only nine-tenths of those who in 1902-06 secured passports actually came to the United States. Here, however, it must be borne in mind that the American figures refer to the fiscal year which closes in June, and that the period July-December, 1901, included in the figures by no means compensates for the period July-December, 1906, not included in them. Allowing for this, there would still be many who had secured passports, but not emigrated. For nearly a decade, conditions in Brazil have not favored immigration there. Apparently many immigrants who, on applying for the passport, had named Brazil for their destination, actually went to Argentina, and some, also, perhaps, who had given the United States as their destination. A third and smaller part of the Argentine immigration is probably included in passengers from non-Italian ports who possessed either no passport or a passport for European countries.

But the probabilities we have been considering are not proofs that the American figures are superior to those of the Bureau of Statistics. Fortunately, some interesting data of another sort can be adduced to strengthen materially these probabilities. The table which follows seeks to compare, for five-year periods, the number of immigrants actually arrived in America with the number who actually sailed from Europe. I have not given the absolute figures, but have stated by how much they are greater or less than the figures of the Bureau of Statistics for transoceanic emigration. This will facilitate comparison. The figures for sailings are those of the third-class passengers sailed from Italian ports according to the records of the port officials. To them I have added the number of Italian passengers embarked in other Eu-

ropean ports.¹ The American figures are the totals for Brazil, Argentina, and the United States.

I.	II.	III.
<i>American figures greater or less than Bureau of Statistics according as + or —.</i>	<i>Sailings from Europe greater or less than Bureau of Statistics according as + or —.</i>	<i>II. greater or less than I. according as + or —.</i>
(1877–81 . . . + 41,464	+ 134,309	+92,845) ²
1882–86 . . . +109,088	+106,799	— 2,288
1887–91 . . . +200,726	+188,570	—12,156
1892–96 . . . +149,393	+149,636	+ 243
1897–1901 . . . + 36,681	+107,780	+71,099
1902–1906 . . . —158,725	—120,383	+38,343

It will be noted that in the last decade, according to the figures, more persons have sailed for America than have arrived there. It may, however, be stated that the figures for sailings from Italy include also third-class foreign passengers (Greeks and Turks, *e.g.*), who in this last decade began to assume considerable importance; that on the American side the returns for Brazil have lately been defective; that the Italian immigration into other countries of America took on more appreciable proportions in the last decade; and, finally, that, as already indicated, the United States figures do not contain the heavy immigration of the second half of 1906 (but contain instead only the light immigration of an added semester a decade earlier). What the figures seem plainly to indicate is that the excess of American figures for the period before 1901 over Italian figures rests upon fact, and that here again, for the oversea emigration, as before for the European emigration, the figures collected on the basis of the number of *nulla-osta* granted are under-

¹ All the principal ports are included. So, likewise, are first and second class passengers, but these are an inconsiderable number, and may be taken to compensate for emigrants embarked in ports not included. The ports represented differ slightly from year to year. All data have been taken from recent numbers of the *Annuario Statistico Italiano*.

² Brazil and Uruguay are not included in the American totals for this period.

statements of the truth. It is interesting, further, to note that in 1902-06 the figures for sailings confirm the statement already made, that in this period more persons procured the passport than really emigrated.

Although our final preference must be given to the statistics prepared by the American countries of immigration, it is necessary, for the sake of completeness, to consider briefly still another series of figures. By a clause in the general Emigration Law passed in 1901 a permanent Commissionership of Emigration¹ was established. This bureau, which has become a very active factor in the regulation and protection of emigration, particularly of the transoceanic emigration, keeps a record of all emigrants who sail from the Italian ports and Havre. The new law requires so close a superintendence over the sailing of emigrants that a high degree of reliance may be placed on the statistics of number, sex, etc. The statistics for number are based on the taxes paid by the steamship companies for every emigrant. By taking the emigrants to the United States, month by month, and grouping them to correspond to our fiscal year, we get a series of figures closely similar to those recorded by our Commissioner-General under the caption "Italy, country of last permanent residence."

Considering that two to three thousand a year are debarred from the United States, that some Italians who sail from non-Italian ports give Italy as the country of their last permanent residence, and are therefore not included in our figures, and further considering that the two sets of figures do not refer to quite the same moment of time,—a June, 1905, emigrant perhaps being a July, 1906, immigrant,—the correspondence is so close as to enhance our confidence in both sets of figures. In the following table the first column gives the figures of the

¹ Commissariato dell' Emigrazione.

Italian Commissioner, the second those of our own Commissioner-General:—

1902-03	221,784	230,622
1903-04	188,501	193,296
1904-05	214,031	221,479
1905-06	287,523	273,120

Comparison of the Commissionership figures with those of the South American countries gives similar results. More interesting is a comparison with the figures of the Bureau of Statistics for transoceanic emigration, since both are Italian series:—

	<i>Commissionership.</i>	<i>Bureau of Statistics.</i>
1902	246,374	284,654
1903	265,566	282,435
1904	211,726	252,366
1905	350,951	447,083
1906	414,719	511,935

Again, the conclusion is inevitable that in recent years many persons who have taken out passports for emigration to oversea lands have not emigrated.

When we come to consider the return movement of Italians from the New World, we have little choice of figures. The United States has never kept a record of departing immigrants. The South American countries have partly done so, but have not classified their emigrants by nationality. The Italians procuring passports for emigration have indeed, until 1903, been classified as temporary or permanent emigrants. But, as we have seen, this distinction in practise gives approximately correct results only where the two classes are somewhat evenly distributed. When one considers either the European or the American immigration in isolation, the classes are not equally divided, and the results are more in doubt. Furthermore, emigration to America is a

much more momentous undertaking than emigration into a country of Europe; and, even if the emigrant had made up his mind regarding the term of his absence, his sojourn in the new country is actually contingent upon so many speculative conditions that he may later change his mind. It can hardly be reckoned a loss that the Bureau of Statistics has not published the figures of temporary and permanent emigration by countries.¹

Our only source of statistics for the return migration into Italy may be said to be the record of passengers disembarked in Italian ports.² For the reflux over the land frontier, even when that has originated in America, we have no measure. The figures of the following table were collected by the Ministry of the Marine before 1901, and since that year by the emigration inspectors (upon the basis of passenger lists).³ They are for third-class passengers only, and before 1902 include a negligible sprinkling of foreigners. The "total" includes more than the three specified countries. Since 1904 the figures for South American countries are partly incomplete.⁴

¹ I have found such figures for only four years. In 1900-03, of the emigrants destined for the United States, 131,920 were classified as temporary. In the same years at least 187,093 returned; and, in the four years beginning 1901, 284,358 returned.

² Another possible method, for the United States, consists in adding up the number of third-class passengers departed for Mediterranean ports. In the fiscal year 1906 there were 63,108. Including also Havre, a writer has proceeded as follows: "Remembering that eastern and southern Europeans return generally by way of Italy and Belgians by way of Havre, it cannot be far from the truth, after deducting 15 per cent. from the [transportation] companies' figures, to consider the balance as the approximate number of Italians who during the three years have left the United States." And he gives this table:—

Italians sailed from the United States.

1901	32,266
1902	48,684
1903	83,333

(G. E. Di Palma Castiglione in *American Journal of Sociology*, September, 1905, p. 187-188.)

³ See *Statistica della Emigrazione*, 1900 ff., and *Bollettino*, 1907, No. 14, p. 36. The *Annuario Statistico* for 1904, p. 117, gives some earlier figures.

⁴ The Commissioner of Emigration is now seeking to complete these figures and separate the countries.

EMIGRANTS RETURNED TO ITALY.

	<i>From the United States.</i>	<i>From Brazil.</i>	<i>From Countries of the Plata.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
1887	3,000	317	14,519	18,039
1888	6,072	1,136	19,998	27,281
1889	4,734	3,603	25,125	33,576
1890	2,881	1,510	41,476	45,880
1891	10,170	2,583	47,957	60,710
1892	12,695	7,566	31,438	51,699
1893	22,912	10,906	19,816	53,634
1894	26,845	5,300	22,209	55,221
1895	17,039	16,654	19,319	53,962
1896	20,885	16,794	19,997	58,607
1897	22,292	20,192	20,540	63,893
1898	24,735	17,489	28,110	71,687
1899	31,289	8,972	28,033	69,441
1900	31,966	17,733	29,419	80,570
1901	24,678	21,224	29,204	77,567
1902	52,216	29,701	23,813	95,336
1903	78,233	29,740	26,813	124,590
1904	129,231		43,170	177,692
1905	68,821		42,727	118,894
1906	96,210		52,230	156,273

What we should most like to know regarding the return movement is, What part of those who emigrate return? Of course our answer can be only historical, and, since we cannot follow up the career of each emigrant, an approximation. In the table which follows I have stated in percentages of total immigrants for five-year periods the number of returned emigrants for the same period. The basis of the latter figure is found in the last table above. For the total immigration into the several countries I have used the American figures also given above. For the transoceanic total I have used, on the one hand, the sum of the American figures for the United States, Brazil, Argentina, and Uruguay, and, on the other, the total returned emigrants from whatever country. In the last column, for the interest of comparison, I have used the figures of the Italian Commissionship as a base:—

PERCENTAGE OF RETURNED EMIGRANTS.

	Based on American statistics of immigration				Based on Italian statistics of emigration, 1902-06.
	1887-91	1892-96.	1897-1901	1902-06.	
United States . .	10.63	42 97	30 93	37.90	38.77
Brazil	2 65	12 28	42 83	} 60.70	} 69.08
Argentina and Uruguay	45.23	46.87	51.19		
Total	20 01	27 46	40 33	41.87	43 97

Two tendencies of the emigration movement from Italy find expression in these figures. One is that it is very sensitive to changes in the economic conditions of the countries to which it moves. Many years ago, under authority of the Bureau of Statistics, the *sindaci* asked applicants for passports whether they were leaving Italy because driven from it by the hard conditions of life there or because they were seeking better circumstances in other lands. Probably these puzzling questions find a partial answer in our table. Emigration is checked whenever the chance of finding better circumstances elsewhere appears to be insecure. Thus, in 1892-96, for every five Italians who entered the United States, two returned to Italy,—a striking evidence of the conditions then prevailing in this country; and this proportion is four times as great as that of the previous quinquennium. The proportion of return emigrants, which had again fallen off in 1897-1901, rose substantially in 1902-06.¹ The low percentage of Brazil in 1887-96 reflects the prosperous period of colonization and the immigration of agricultural settlers, not of day laborers. Subsequent figures reflect

¹ From figures of the Italian Commissioner (Bollettino, 1908, Nos. 6 and 9) 283,671 Italians emigrated to the United States in 1907, and 177,278 returned,—the latter a record number. The returned, who are 62.1+ per cent. of the immigrants, arrived in Italy mainly in November and December. In December 5,033 persons departed for the United States and 52,532 returned.

the disorders of the coffee fazendas, which began about 1897. The countries of the Plata have long been regurgitating about half their immigrants. The revival of prosperity in Argentina is, perhaps, too recent to be reflected in our table; but another explanation is possible for this.

The figures for the total return movement from America especially bring out the second deduction that we have somewhat tentatively undertaken to make from our table. In the last twenty years the Italian emigration has become increasingly of a temporary nature. That the heavy reflux movement is not due merely to the unexpected occurrence of adverse conditions of employment (altho, as we have seen, this influence acts with extraordinary immediacy and thoroughness), is clear from various facts. One notes the high percentage of return emigrants from the United States in 1897-1901 as compared with 1887-1891, and the high percentage in 1902-06, almost as high as in 1892-96, when economic conditions were so radically different. From Brazil one expects for recent years a heavy backflow of the tide, but the Argentine Republic, despite a prosperity which has brought more immigrants to her shores per year than ever before, has certainly also sent great numbers back into Italy.¹

It would be interesting to learn how much the Italian, once out of Italy, moves from country to country. That the phenomenon is not uncommon in Europe we have already noted, but it has never been measured there. For some years the United States has been asking what were the countries of last permanent residence of immigrants. Hundreds, sometimes thousands, of Italians, one finds, annually come to the United States from France,

¹ An opposite tendency was noted for the European movement, but the tendency there is slight, and probably does not largely express an emigration of families. In France the marriage of Italians with native women was specifically mentioned as a cause determining the permanent emigration into that country.

Germany, Austria, Switzerland, England. The number of Italians from non-European countries has, since 1900, grown unbrokenly.¹ In the fiscal year 1905, 1,208 came; in 1906, 1,979; in 1907, 5,082; and they came mainly from other countries of America.

We have no means of knowing how often the same emigrants repeat their emigration into countries of Europe. Italians who had "been in the United States before" are given in the following table:²—

1896	14,236	1902	15,304
1897	10,913	1903	17,071
1898	9,844	1904	20,233
1899	12,205	1905	47,504
1900	12,347	1906	38,104
1901	14,541	1907	20,378

The number for 1904 is 10.36 per cent. of the Italian immigration of that year. For the following three years the percentages are 21.44, 13.95, and 6.93, respectively. In the decade 1897–1906 they numbered 41.19 per cent. of those recorded at Italian ports as having returned from the United States; that is, two out of five Italians who had returned from the United States re-emigrated. It is unfortunate that this sort of calculation is impossible for other countries. Four-fifths of our immigrants come from South Italy. Something like the same proportion of the immigrants into South America come from North Italy. And North Italy, as the demonstrated prolific source of a temporary emigration into Europe in which the same persons play a large part, doubtless sends a large emigration of similar character into South America.

¹ Data in reports of our Commissioner-General.

² *Ibid.* Naturalized Italians should be added to the list. In 1905, 1,747 citizens of the United States emigrated from Italy, 1,669 from Naples alone. Citizenship, says the *Bollettino* (1906, No 11, p. 67), is a means of "avoiding the inconveniences" incident upon disembarkation in the United States.

We entered upon this study with two main purposes, to find the strength of the outflow from Italy and the backflow into Italy and to find the strength of the inflow into other countries and the outflow from them. A word of recapitulation may add definiteness to the picture we have drawn. Before the unification of Italy the emigration was slight. Since about 1875 it has grown steadily, making a sudden bound in 1901 to a new level, which it has since maintained. Official figures for the last three decades show an emigration of nine millions, but the number probably understates the truth by at least two millions. About two-thirds of the total emigration is of a temporary character. Of the emigration into Europe at least nine-tenths is such, and that into America has become increasingly temporary. It is safe to say that in the last dozen years at least 200,000 emigrants annually have returned to Italy; since 1900, between 250,000 and 350,000.¹

And the permanent emigration presents figures equally striking. We have already given a figure for the permanent emigration in 1882-1901 calculated as the difference between the excess of births over deaths for the period and the growth of the census population. The following table, compiled by this method, presents the net or permanent emigration from Italy in 1862-1901.²

	<i>Total Net Emigration.</i>
1862-1871	16,253
1872-1881	362,335
1882-1901	2,190,434

Emigration has been ominously regarded by many Italians deeply concerned for the welfare of their country.

¹ Professor Commons in his recent *Races and Immigrants in America* (p. 77) states the number of temporary emigrants to be annually "probably over 150,000."

² Data may be found in various numbers of the *Annuario Statistico*

The argument that it is necessary or natural, or that it returns great benefit to Italy may be accepted by them, but always there is unmistakably present a sentiment of regret. The aim of the present essay has already been accomplished, but it may not be inappropriate to present, in conclusion, a table which shows, better than any figures we have been considering, the effect of emigration upon Italy. The table¹ gives the percentage of males 21-50 years of age in total males at the censuses of 1881 and 1901:—

Compartment.	1881	1901.	Compartment.	1881.	1901.
Piedmont	38 69	35 72	Lazio	47 58	40.46
Liguria	39 03	39.72	The Abruzzi and Molise	38.77	31.32
Lombardy	40 82	36 10	Campania	40 54	33.96
Venetia	39 03	34 18	Apulia	41 21	36.57
Emilia	40 85	35.95	Basilicata	38 90	32.77
Tuscany	40 32	35 68	Calabria	40.05	31.56
The Marches	38.72	32.92	Sicily	40.66	36.85
Umbria	39.58	35.64	Sardinia	43 08	34.61
			Total kingdom	40 29	35.59

The percentages of 1881 cannot be regarded as quite the normal ratio for the age-group 21-50 years in Italy. Altho the census was taken in January, when the temporary emigration was negligible, there had been in the previous decade a permanent emigration of 360,000 persons, of whom perhaps 275,000 were men in the age-group 21-50 years. Consequently, the percentages for 1881, to have value as a basis for comparison, should be slightly raised, especially in the case of the more northern provinces. Since 1881 the emigration from the southern provinces has been developed, and here the figures of the table probably state the phenomenon with closer accuracy. The significance of the decline is clear. For the entire kingdom the permanent emigration has in effect

¹ Reproduced from *Bollettino*, 1907, No. 11, p. 22.

deprived the country of one man in the fullest years of life out of every eight; for Campania and Basilicata, one out of six; for Calabria and Sardinia, one out of five.

What the future of Italian emigration will be it is here irrelevant to discuss. But a word seems appropriate in conclusion regarding the temporary phase of it. Writings upon emigration frequently enunciate a "law" of emigration. The first emigrants are nearly all men. After a while the women and children follow; emigration ceases—the cycle is complete. This generalization does, indeed, with some fairness describe the course of certain recent or lately declining migrations. But there seems to be no "inner necessity" in the law. The Italian emigration has, since its infancy, been composed, four parts out of five, of males, and of males chiefly in the productive years of life. Emigrants are for Italy a commodity,—one of her chief "exports," as an Italian writer has put it; and they play their part in settling international balances. It is unsafe to set forth "laws" of emigration without calculating the possible effects of a cheapened, rapid, ocean transportation service and the willingness of great nations to receive men for the strength that is in their arms and their readiness to toil hard during long hours for a low compensation. So long as these things continue, so long as there are poverty-burdened Italians whose Italy is whatever country will give them their bread, so long may Italian temporary emigration continue. And, as it has risen, so some day it may decline into insignificance without having ever, for a last step, become characteristically an emigration of families.

ROBERT F. FOERSTER.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.